

The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, Central America. By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, November 4, 1881.)

CONTENTS.

The Maya-Kiche stock, and the Kiche-Cakchiquel tribes.—The National legend of the Kiches, the *Popol Vuh*.—Aids for its study.—Meaning of its Title.—Bisexual Divinities.—Hun-ahpu-vuch, the Opossum god.—Hun-ahpu-utiu, the Coyote god.—Totemic worship.—Zaki-nima-tziz, the White Badger.—Nim-ak, the Great Hog.—Tepen, the Syphilitic god.—Gucumatz, the Feathered and Plumed.—The Heart of the Sky.—The Master of the Green Dish.—The first pair, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.—The Storm and Earthquake gods; Hurakan and his Companions.—Invocation to Hurakan.—Qabnil, the Divinity.—Raxa-nanauac, Nagualism and Noh, the god of Reason.—The tribal gods, Tohil, the Just, Avilix, Hacavitz, etc.—The myth of Xbalanque.—Xiba ba, the Underworld.—Derivation of Xbalanque.—The Hbalamob of Yucatan.—The Patrons of Arts, Hun-batz and Hun-choven.—Affinities with Aztec Myths.—Color names in the Myths.—Conclusion.

Of the ancient races of America, those which approached the nearest to a civilized condition spoke related dialects of a tongue, which from its principal members has been called the "Maya-Kiche" linguistic stock. Even to-day, it is estimated that about half a million persons use these dialects. They are scattered over Yucatan, Guatemala and the adjacent territory, and one branch formerly occupied the hot lowlands on the Gulf of Mexico, north of Vera Cruz.

Of the sixteen different dialects into which this stock has been divided, the Maya was considered by that eminent authority, the late Dr. C. H. Berendt, to be the purest example; although it has also been asserted that the most archaic forms and structure are to be found in the Zakloh-Pakab, otherwise called the Mam, spoken in a portion of the province of Soconusco and Chiapas, by a tribe which alone of these natives, so far as I know, claimed to be autochthonous. The Mam is agglutinative, and its grammatical structure is complex, traits much less marked in the other members of the group.

The so-called "metropolitan" dialects are those spoken relatively near the city of Guatemala, and include the Cakchiquel, the Kiche, the Pokonchi and the Tzutuhil. They are quite closely allied, and are mutually intelligible, resembling each other about as much as did in ancient Greece the Attic, Ionic and Doric dialects. These closely related members of the Maya-Kiche family will be referred to under the sub-title of the Kiche-Cakchiquel dialects.

There are well defined phonetic laws which have governed the growth of all these dialects, and several of them have been clearly set forth by M. Hyacinthe de Charencey in a comparative study published some years ago.* In regard to their phonetic system, it may be said that it is charac-

* *Recherches sur les Lois Phonétiques dans les Idiomes de la Famille Mame-Huastèque*, Revue de Linguistique, Tome v.

terized by numerous harsh gutturals, by hissing sounds, and explosive or "detonating" consonants, which strike most European ears disagreeably, and in the alphabetic representation of which there is no uniformity among authors.*

The civilization of these people was such that they used various mnemonic signs, approaching our alphabet, to record and recall their mythology and history. Fragments, more or less complete, of these traditions have been preserved. The most notable of these is the National Legend of the Kiches of Guatemala, the so-called *Popol Vuh*. It was written at an unknown date in the Kiche dialect by a native who was familiar with the ancient records. A Spanish translation of it was made early in the last century by a Spanish priest, Father Francisco Ximenez, and was first published at Vienna, 1857.† In 1861 the original text was printed in Paris, with a French translation, by the care of the late eminent Americanist, the Abbé Brasseur (de Bourbourg). This original covers about 175 octavo pages, and is therefore highly important as a linguistic as well as an archaeological monument.

Both these translations are justly open to criticism. It needs but little study to see that they are both strongly colored by the view which the respective translators entertained of the purpose of the original. Ximenez thought it was principally a satire of the devil on Christianity, and a snare spread by him to entrap souls; Brasseur believed it to be a history of the ancient wars of the Kiches, and frequently carries his Euhemerism so far as to distort the sense of the original.

What has added to the difficulty of correcting these erroneous impressions is the extreme paucity of material for studying the Kiche. A grammar written by Ximenez has indeed been published, but no dictionary is available, if we except a brief "Vocabulary of the Principal Roots" of these dialects by the same author, which is almost useless for critical purposes.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some writers have regarded this legend with suspicion, and have spoken of it as but little better than a late romance concocted by a shrewd native, who borrowed many of his incidents from Christian teachings. Such an opinion will pass away when

* After some hesitation I have adopted the orthography *Kiche* instead of the more usual *Quiche*. The initial letter is in fact neither *k* nor *q*, but a rough guttural represented by a peculiar letter in the manuscripts, and for the sound of which we have nothing to correspond in European alphabets. Dr. Berendt transliterated the name as *Kiche*; and apart from its being on the whole more correct, it prevents confusion with the *Qquichua* of Peru. *Kiche* is a compound of *kij* or *kij*, much, many, and *che* trees. The orthography adopted by Mr. A. F. Bandelier, and credited by him to Dr. Berendt, to wit, *QQuické* (*Twelfth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum*, p. 620, note) was not used by Dr. Berendt, and should not be adopted, as it is without authority, and increases the liability of confusion with the Peruvian language.

† *Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala*. Por el R. P. F. Francisco Ximenez.

the original is accurately translated. To one familiar with native American myths, this one bears undeniable marks of its aboriginal origin. Its frequent puerilities and inanities, its generally low and coarse range of thought and expression, its occasional loftiness of both, its strange metaphors, and the prominence of strictly heathen names and potencies, bring it into unmistakable relationship to the true native myth. This especially holds good of the first two-thirds of it which are entirely mythological.

As a contribution to the study of this interesting monument, I shall undertake to analyze the proper names of the divinities which appear in its pages. The especial facility that I have for doing so is furnished by two MSS. Vocabularies of the Cakchiquel dialect, presented to the library of the American Philosophical Society by the Governor of Guatemala in 1836. One of these was written in 1651, by Father Thomas Coto, and was based on the previous work of Father Francisco Varea. It is Spanish-Cakchiquel only, and the final pages, together with a grammar and an essay on the native Calendar, promised in the body of the work, are unfortunately missing. What remains, however, makes a folio volume of 972 double columned pages, and contains a mass of information about the language. As no part of it has ever been published, I shall quote freely from it. The second MSS. is a copy of the Cakchiquel-Spanish Vocabulary of Varea made by Fray Francisco Ceron in 1699. It is a quarto of 493 pages. I have also in my possession copies of the *Compendio de Nombres en Lengua Cakchiquel*, by P. F. Pantaleon de Guzman (1704), and of the *Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Cakchiquel*, by the R. P. F. Benito de Villacañas, composed about 1580, as well as a copy of the *Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan*, an important record written about the middle of the 16th century by a member of the royal Cakchiquel house of the Xahila. These formed part of the invaluable collection left by the late Dr. C. Hermann Berendt, and have aided me in my researches.

Father Coto himself tells us that the natives loved to tell long stories, and to repeat chants, keeping time to them in their dances. These chants were called *nugum tzih*, garlands of words, from *tzih*, word, and *nug*, to fasten flowers into wreaths, to set in order a dance, to arrange the heads of a discourse, etc. As preserved to us in the *Popol Vuh*, the rhythmical form is mostly lost, but here and there one finds passages, retained intact by memory no doubt, where a distinct balance in diction, and an effort at harmony is readily noted.

The name *Popol Vuh* given to this work is that applied by the natives themselves. It is translated by Ximenez "libro del comun," by Brasseur "livre national." The word *popol* is applied to something held in common ownership by a number; thus food belonging to a number is *popol naim*; a task to be worked out by many, *popol zumah*; the native council where the elders met to discuss public affairs was *popol tzih*, the common speech or talk. The word *pop* means the mat or rug of woven rushes or bark on which the family or company sat, and it is possible that

from the community of interests thus typified, the word came to mean anything in common.*

Vuh or *uuh* is in Kiche and Cakchiquel the word for *paper* and *book*. It is an original term in these and connected dialects, the Māya having *wooh*, a letter, writing; *uoch*, to write.

The opening words of the Popol Vuh introduce us at once to the mighty and mysterious divinity who is the source and cause of all things, and to the original couple, male and female, who in their persons and their powers typify the sexual and reproductive principle of organic life. These words are as follows :

"We are to bring forward the manifestation, the revelation, "the declaration of that which was hidden, the enlightenment "caused by Him who Creates, Him who fashions creatures, "Her who bears sons, Him who begets sons, whose names are "Hun-Ahpu-Vuch, Hun-Ahpu-Utiu, Zaki-Nima-Tzyiz, Tepeu, "Gucumatz, Qux-cho, Qux-palo, Ah-raxa-lak, Ah-raxa-sel.

"And along with Him are sung and celebrated in the Kiche "histories, those who are called the ancestress and the ancestor, by name Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, the preserver, the protector; twice over grandmother, twice over grandfather."

It will be here observed that the declaration of the attributes of the highest divinity embraces distinctly sexual ideas, and in consequence either of a confusion of thought or else of a deliberate purpose to which we find numerous parallels in Grecian, Egyptian and Oriental mythology, this divinity is represented as embracing the powers and functions of both sexes in his own person; and it is curious that both here and in the second paragraph, the *female* attributes are named *first*.

The word *Alom*, her who bears sons, or has sons (*la muger que tiene hijos*, Coto) is from the verbal form *alah*, to bring forth children, itself from the primitive *al*, the word in all this group of languages applied *by the woman only* to her son. The father used an entirely different word, to wit, *gahol*. The active form of this, *Gaholom* ($\begin{smallmatrix} c \\ c \end{smallmatrix}$ a holom) is that translated, He who begets sons.

First in the specific names of divinity given is *Hun-ahpu-vuch*. To derive any appropriate signification for this has completely baffled all previous students of this mythology. *Hun* is the numeral *one*, but which also, as in most tongues, has the other meanings of first, foremost, self, unique, most prominent, "the one," etc. *Ah pu* is derived both by Ximenez and Brasseur from the prefix *ah*, which is used to signify knowledge or posses-

*The meaning "a gathering of leaves" assigned to the words *popol vuh*, by Mr. A. F. Bandelier in a recent paper (*Transactions of the American Assoc. Adv. Sciences*, Vol. xxvii, p. 328; I should, perhaps, mention, in order to say that it is quite imaginary and groundless.

sion of, control over, mastership or skill in, origin from or practice in that to which it is prefixed; and *ub*, or *pub*, the *sarbacana* or blowpipe, which these Indians used to employ as a weapon in war and the chase. *Ah pu*, therefore, they take to mean, He who is skilled in using the sarbacane. *Vuch*, the last member of this compound name, is understood by both to mean a species of fox, the *tlacuatzin* of the Mexicans, which is the Opossum.

In accordance with these derivations Ximenez translates the name *Un tirador tacuasín*, and Brasseur, *Un Tireur de Sarbacane au Sarigüe*.

Such a name bears little meaning in this relation; little relevancy to the nature and functions of God; and if a more appropriate and not less plausible composition could be suggested, it would have strong intrinsic claims for adoption. There is such a composition, and it is this: The derivation of Ahpu from *ah-pub* is not only unnecessary but hardly defensible. It is true that in Cakchiquel the sarbacane is *pub*, but in Kiche the initial *p* is dropped, as can be seen in many passages of the Popol Vuh, but, this apart, the true composition of this word I take to be unquestionably *ah-puz*, for *puz* has a distinctly relative signification, one intimately associated with the most recondite mysteries of religion; it expressed the divine power which the priests and prophets claimed to have received from the gods, and the essentially supernatural attributes of divinity itself. It was the word which at first the natives applied to the power of the forgiving of sins claimed by the Catholic missionaries; but the word was associated with so many wholly heathen notions that the *padres* decided to drop it altogether from religious language, and to give it the meaning of necromancy and unholy power. Thus Coto gives it as the Cakchiquel word for *Magica*, *Nigromantica*, and under the word *Poder*, has this interesting entry:

“**Poder**: *vtzintzabal*, vel *vtzintzabal*; deste nombre usa la *Cartilla* en el “Credo para decir por obra vel poder del Spirito Santo. Al poder que “tienen los Sacerdotes de perdonar pecados y dar sacramentos, se “llaman, o an llamado, *puz*, *nanal*. Asi el Pe Varea en su *Diccionario* “y el Sancto Vico en la *Theologia Indorum* usa en muchas partes destes “vocablos en este sentido. Ya no estan tan en uso, pues entienden por “el nombre *poder* y *vtzintzabal*; y son vocablos que antiguamente aplican “ban a sus idolos, y oy se procura que vayan olvidando todo aquello “con que se les puede hacer memoria dellos.”

The word *puz* is used in various passages of the Popol Vuh to express the supernatural power of the gods and priests, but probably by the time that Ximenez wrote it had, in the current dialect of his parish, lost its highest signification, and hence it did not suggest itself to him as the true derivation of the name I am discussing.

The third term *Vuch* or *Vugh* was chosen according to Ximenez, because this species of fox is notoriously cunning, “*por su astucia*.” It seems to me on the whole probable that this is correct, and that we have here a reminiscence of an animal myth, such as we might suppose in an early stage of civilization might have grown out of the story of Reynard

the Fox. It is certain that cunning and astuteness in small things are traits of character exceedingly admired by the vulgar and uneducated everywhere, and it is quite possible that they came to be looked upon as appropriate attributes of the highest conceivable divinity, as, indeed, there is no doubt but that they were among the Algonkin and other hunting tribes of the North.

But while, as I say, I am inclined to accept the rendering of *Vugh* as the tlacuatzin, it has not this meaning only, but several others, some of which are so suggestive that I shall quote what Father Coto has to say on the subject under the word *Raposo*, so that the reader may adopt another meaning if he chooses.

“**Raposo** : *xican* ; estos son los mas parecidos a los de España. * * * ;
 “otro genero que come gallinas, el Mexicano le llama tacuatçin ; a este
 “llaman *Vugh* ; y nota que este mismo nombre tiene un genero de baile
 “en que con los pies dan bueltas a un palo ; tambien significa el temblor
 “de cuerpo que da con la terciana, o la misma çission ; significa asi
 “mesmo quando quiere ya amanescer aquel ponerse escuro el cielo ;
 “tambien quando suele estar el agua del rio o laguna, por antiparastas-
 “sis, caliente, al tal calorsillo llaman *Vugh*.”

Of these various meanings one is tempted to take that which applies the word to “the darkness that comes before the dawn,” and connect Hun-ahpu-vuch with the auroral gods, the forerunners of the light, like the “Kichigouai, those who make the day,” of Algonkin mythology.

There is a curious passage in the Popol Vuh which might be brought up in support of such an opinion. It occurs at a certain period of the history of the mythical hero Hunahpu. The text reads :

“Are cut ta chi r'ah zakiric,

“Chi zoktarin,

“U xecah ca xaquinuchic.

“Ama x-u ch'ux ri vuch ?

“Ve, x-cha ri mama,

“Ta chi xaquinuc ;

“Qate ta chi gekumar chic ;

“Cahmul xaquin ri mama.

“Ca xaquin-Vuch,” ca cha vinak va-
 camic.

“And now it was about to become
 white,

And the dawn came,
 The day opened.

“Is the fox about to be ?”

Yes, answered the old man.

Then he spread apart his legs ;

Again the darkness appeared ;

Four times the old man spread his legs.

“Now the Fox spread his legs,” say the
 people yet (meaning that the day ap-
 proaches).

This passage, says the Abbé Brasseur in his note to the page, “conceals a mystery having relation to the ancient genesiac theories of Mexico and Central America.”

The double meaning in this text depends partly on the verb *xaquinuchic*. The Abbé says : “*Xaquin* signifie ouvrir les jambes, et *uch* ou *vuch* est le sarigue. Pour exprimer que le jour parut, on dit textuellement, le sarigue entr'ouvre les jambes.” This word is from the same root as the Maya *Xach*, to spread the feet apart, *xacunah*, to spread the legs (Pio Perez, *Diccionario*) : Cakchiquel, *tin xacaba va*, I spread my legs (*To abro*

las piernas, Coto, *Vocabulario*.) A modification of the root, to wit, *q'aq*, means to open, generally, a door, window, etc.

The Abbé adds that the expression referred to by the writer of the Popol Vuh as a common one to express the approach of day is no longer in use ; but it had not become obsolete in Coto's time, as the following passage shows :

"Escuridad : una que ay quando quiere amanescer, *vugh* ; *tan ti xakin*
"*vugh*."

Here we have the precise expression under consideration, and as it is also given by Guzman (*Compendio de Nombres*, p. 22) it is probably an error of Brasseur's to consider it obsolete.

So long, however, as there is no further evidence to support the identity of Hun-ahpu-vuch with the dawn-heroes, we may reasonably explain this supposed genesiac myth as based on the homophony of *vuch*, fox, and *vuch*, the darkening before dawn. This homophony contains, indeed, rich material for the development of an animal myth, identifying the fox with the God of Light, just as the similarity of the Algonkin *waubisch*, the dawn, and *waubos*, the rabbit, gave occasion to a whole cycle of curious myths in which the Great Hare or the Mighty Rabbit figures as the Creator of the World, the Day Maker, and the chief God of the widely spread Algonkin tribes.*

The result of the above analysis is to assign Hun-ahpu-vuch the significance : "The One (or chief) master of supernatural power. the Opossum."

A main reason why I retain the meaning Opossum is that the names which follow are unquestionably derived from animals. The second is *Hun-Ahpu-Utiu*. The last factor, *uti*, is the wolf, the coyote, an animal which plays most important parts in the native cosmogonical myths all through the Californian, Mexican and Central American tribes. In the *Records from Teopan Atitlan* it is related that when man was first formed by the power of the sacred Chay Abah, the knife-stone or obsidian, and placed in the earthly paradise Paxil (the derivation of which name I shall consider later) there came the coyote, *uti*, and the crow, *koock*, and were about to destroy the maize harvests, but the coyote was killed, and thus the grain was saved. The remaining elements being the same I paraphrase this :

"The One (or chief) master of supernatural power, the Coyote."

In the third name, *Zaki Nima Tzyiz*, the first two words mean respectively *White*, *great* ; the third is the common name for the pizote or badger, an active little animal quite familiar to the Indians, and the name of which, as we are informed by Father Coto, was currently applied to an active, lively lad. His words are :

"Pizote : vn animalejo como el tejón, o el mesmo, *qiz* ; son caserositos,

* I have traced the growth of this myth in detail in *The Myths of the New World, a Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America*, Chap. VI. (New York, 1876).

"cogen pequenos, y trauesos mucho, y de aqueste animal toman el decir
"quando vn muchacho es travieso, *qizulah aqual*, etc."

These are the translations given by Ximenez: "grandemente agudo pizote," "very active pizote," and "blanco pizote," "white pizote." But Brasseur derives *tzyiz* from *tzizo*, to sew, and, in a religious sense, to draw blood by pricking, a sacrificial custom of those countries, for which he adduces the authority of the MSS. Kiche vocabulary of Basseta; "Sangrarse para sacrificar á los idolos." He therefore translates: "Grand Blanc Piqueur;" but this seems inadmissible, as "the one who sews or pricks" is expressed by *tzizom* or *tzizonel* (*Coto*, s. v. *Coser*). We must therefore include this among the animal names.

Although not contained in the paragraph quoted, I here bring under consideration another animal name which elsewhere in the *Popol Vuh* is used as synonymous with the above. Thus (p. 20) we have this invocation:

"Make known your name, Hun-ahpu-vuch, Hun-ahpu-utin,
"twice over bearer of children, twice over begetter of children,
"Nim-ak, Nim-tzyiz, master of the emerald," etc.

The name *Nim-ak* is elsewhere given *Zaki-nim-ak*. The former means "Great Hog," the latter "White, Great Hog." Brasseur translates *ak* as wild boar (*sanglier*), but it is the common generic name for the hog, without distinction of sex. In a later passage (p. 40), we are informed that it was the name of an old man with white hair, and that *Zaki-nima-tzyiz* was the name of an old woman, his wife, all bent and doubled up with age, but both beings of marvelous magic power. Thus we find here an almost unique example of the deification of the hog; for once, this useful animal, generally despised in mythology and anathematized in religion, is given the highest pedestal in the Pantheon.

We should probably understand these and similar brute gods to be relics of a primitive form of totemic worship, such as was found in vigor among some of the northern tribes. Various other indications of this can be discovered among the branches of the Maya family. The Cakchiquels were called "the people of the bat" (*zot'*), that animal being their national sign or token, and also the symbol of their god (*Popol Vuh*, p. 225, 249). The *tucur* owl, *chan* or *cumatz* serpent, *balam* tiger, and *geh* deer, are other animals whose names are applied to prominent families or tribes in these nearly related myths.

The priests and rulers also assumed frequently the names of animals, and some pretended to be able to transform themselves into them at will. Thus it is said of Gucumatz Cotula, fifth king of the Kiches, that he transformed himself into an eagle, into a tiger, into a serpent, and into coagulated blood (p. 314). In their dances and other sacred ceremonies they used hideous masks, carved, painted and ornamented to represent the heads of eagles, tigers, etc. These were called *goh*, as *cohbal rui cot*,

the mask of an eagle, *cohhá ruvi balam* ; the mask of a tiger, etc. (Coto, s. v. *Mascara* vel *Caratula*.) In Maya the same word is found, *Koh*, and in the Codex Troano, one of the few original Maya manuscripts we have left, these masks are easily distinguished on the heads of many of the persons represented. Recent observers tell us that in the more remote parishes in Central America these hideous brute faced masks are still worn by the Indians who dance in accompanying the processions of the Church !* Even yet, every new-born child among the Kiches, is solemnly named after some beast by the native "medicine man" before he is baptized by the Padre.†

This brings me to a name which has very curious meanings, to wit, *Tepu*. It is the ordinary word in these dialects for Lord, Ruler, Chief or King. Its form in Cakchiquel is *Tepex*, in Maya *Tepal*, and it is probably from the adjective root *tep*, filled up, supplied in abundance, satisfied (colmado, satisfecho, que tiene suficiente, Brasseur, *Vocabulaire Maya-Francais et Espagnol*). In Kiche and Cakchiquel it is used synonymously with *galel* or *gagal* and *ahau* as a translation of Señor or Cacique. But it has another definite meaning, and that is, the disease *syphilis*, the *buboes* or *pox* ! And what is not less curious, this meaning extends also in a measure to *galel* and *ahau*.

This extraordinary collocation of ideas did not escape the notice of Ximenez, and he undertakes to explain it by suggesting that as syphilis arises from cohabitation with many different women, and this is a privilege only of the great and powerful, so the name came to be applied to the chiefs and nobles, and to their god. But I shall give this explanation in his own words :

"Y tambien como à Dios se le dan muchos epitetos de grande, de sabio y otras cosas, le dan el nombre de Tepu, este significa las bubas, y en "su gentilidad era grandeza de los Señores el tenerlos, porque era señal "de mas poder para cohabitar con muchas mugeres de adonde se suelen "contraer, cosa que la gente ordinaria no podia."‡

Of course, syphilis has no such origin, but if the Indians thought it had, and considered it a proof of extraordinary genetic power, it would be a plausible supposition that they applied this term to their divinity as being the type of the fecundating principle. But the original sense of the adjective *tep* does not seem to bear this out, and it would rather appear that the employment of the word as the name of the disease was a later and secondary sense. Such is the opinion of Father Coto who says that the term was applied jestingly to those suffering from syphilitic sores because, like a chieftain or a noble, they did no work, but had to sit still with their hands in their laps, as it were, waiting to get well ; and when they had

* *Die Indianer von Santa Catalina Islavacan ; ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte der Urbewohner Central Amerikas*. Von Dr. Karl. Scherzer, p. 9 (Wien. 1856).

†Ibid, p. 11.

‡ *Escotios à las Historias del Origen de los Indios*, pag. 157.

recovered it was satirically said of them that they had given up their sovereignty. To quote his words :

"**Bubas :** *galel vel tepex.* * * Quando an pasado dicen *xin colah ahauarem*, id est, ya an dejado su señoría, porque el que las tiene se "esta sentado, sin hacer cosa, como si fuese señor o señora.
 "**Señora :** *xogohau ;* Señoría, *xogohauarem* * * Deste nombre *xogohau* vsan metaphoricamente para decir que una muger moza tiene "bubas ; porque se esta sin hacer cosa, mano sobre mano, * * y "quando a sanado de la enfermedad, dicen, si es varon : *xucolah rahauarem achi rumal tepex.* *Tepex* es la enfermedad de bubas."

I should not omit to remark that this strange association of ideas is not confined to the dialects of which I am speaking. It occurs not unfrequently. In Maya, *ku* is the earliest and broadest name for divinity : *kukul* is to worship, and it also means a scab or sore. As in Kiche *puh* means the pus or matter from a sore, the term *ahpu* applied to the highest god may also mean, "he who has running sores." Furthermore, in the Aztec tongue *nanahuatl* means a person suffering from syphilis ; it is also, in a myth preserved by Sahagun, the name of the Sun God, and it is related of him that as a sacrifice, before becoming the sun, he threw into the sacrificial flames, not precious gifts, as the custom was, but the scabs from his sores.* So also Caracaracol, a prominent figure in Haytian mythology is represented as suffering from sores or buboes.

The name *Gucumatz* is correctly stated by Ximenez to be capable of two derivations. The first takes it from *gugum*, a feather ; *tin gugumah*, I embroider or cover with feathers (enplumar algo, como ponen en los guaypiles, etc. Coto. S. v. *Pluma*). The second derivation is from *gug*, feather, and *cumatz*, the generic name for serpent. The first of these is that which the writer of the Popol Vuh preferred, as appears from his expression : "They are folded in the feathers (*gug*), the green ones ; therefore their name is *Gugumatz* ; very wise indeed are they (p. 6)." The brilliant plumage of the tropical birds was constantly used by these tribes as ornament for their clothing and their idols, and the possession of many of these exquisite feathers was a matter of much pride and pleasure. The

* Boturini gives a moral coloring to this myth, which most likely it did not originally have. His version is that at the time of the Second Age, the gods gathered together all the people to reward them for their virtue, and ordered those who felt themselves meritorious enough to cast themselves into a fire, and thus attain celestial rewards. They began to debate who first should take the leap. While they were thus disputing the god Centeotl-inopitlzin (esto es, el dios huérfano, solo y sin padres) appeared to one who was sick, Nana-huatzin (el buboso, el podrido) and said : "What do you do here ? Do you not see that your companions are engaged in vain disputes ? Fling yourself into the flames and thus rid yourself of the sufferings which for years you have borne with heroism, and gain immortal honor." Inspired by these words, Nana-huatzin sprang into the flames, and his companions watched him consume. Then an eagle descended from heaven and carried his ashes to the sky where he became Tonatiuh, the Sun. Boturini Benaducci, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, pp. 37, 38 (Madrid, 1746).

long green ones especially called *gug* (properly $\begin{smallmatrix} c & c \\ c & u & c \end{smallmatrix}$) were paid as tribute by the inferior chiefs (Varea, *Vocabulario*, s. v.).

A less likely derivation is from *chu^ca*, strong or strength, and *cumatz*, the Strong Serpent. Probably "decorated with feathers" is the correct interpretation. Gucumatz is said by Mr. H. H. Bancroft to be "the acknowledged representative of Quetzalcoatl," * a hasty statement, as the name is hardly more than a common adjective equivalent to royal or magnificent.

The names *Qux cho*, *Qux palo*, mean "the Heart of the Lake, the Heart of the Sea." To them may be added *Qux cah*, "the Heart of the Sky," and *Qux uleu*, "the Heart of the Earth," found elsewhere in the Popol Vuh (pp. 8, 12), and applied to divinity. The literal or physical sense of the word heart was, however, not that which was intended; in those dialects this word has a much richer metaphorical meaning than in our tongue; with them it stood for all the psychical powers, the memory, will and reasoning faculties, the life, the spirit, the soul. This is fully set forth by Coto:

"**Corazon, gux.** * * Atribuenle todos los affectos de las pôtencias, "memoria y entendimiento y voluntad, * * unde *ahgux*, el cuida-
"doso, entendido, memorioso * *; toman este nombre *gux* por el
"alma de la persona, y por el *spirito vital* de todo viviente, v. g. *xel ru*
"*gux Pedro*, murió Pedro, vel, salio el alma de Pedro. * * deste
"nombre *gux* se forma el verbo *tin gux lah*, por pensar, cuidar,
"imaginar."

It would be more correct therefore, to render these names the "Spirit" or "Soul" of the lake, etc., than the "Heart." They represent broadly the doctrine of "animism" as held by these people, and generally by man in his early stages of religious development. They indicate also a dimly understood sense of the unity of spirit or energy in the different manifestations of organic and inorganic existence.

This was not peculiar to the tribes under consideration. The heart was very generally looked upon, not only as the seat of life, but as the source of the feelings, intellect and passions, the very soul itself.† Hence, in sacrificing victims it was torn out and offered to the god as representing the immaterial part of the individual, that which survived the death of the body.

The last two names in the paragraph quoted are *Ah-raxa-lak*, *Ah-raxa-sel*. To these Brasseur gives the high sounding renderings, "Master of the verdant Planisphere," "Master of the azure Surface." The literal translation is in laughable contrast to these turgid epithets; strictly speak-

* *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, Vol. III, p. 477, note.

† "De adonde" remarks Granados y Galvez, "viene que mis Otomites, de una misma manera llaman à la alma que al corazon, aplicandoles à entrambos la voz *muy*." *Tardes Americanas*, Tarde IV, p. 101. (Mexico, 1778.)

ing they signify. "He of the green dish," "He of the green cup." Thus Ximenez gives them, and adds that forms of speech with *rax* signify things of beauty, fit for kings and lords, as are brightly colored cups and dishes.

Rax is the name of the colors blue and green, which it is said by many writers, cannot be distinguished apart by these Indians; or at least that they have no word to express the difference. *Rax*, by extension, says Ximenez (*Gramatica de la Lengua Quiche*, p. 17), means strong, rough, violent, etc. Coming immediately after the names "Soul of the Lake," "Soul of the Sea," it is possible that the "blue plate" is the azure surface of the tropical sea.

In the second paragraph I have quoted the narrator introduces us to "the Ancestress (*iyom*), the ancestor (*mamom*), by name Xpiyacoc, Xmucane." These were prominent figures in Kiche mythology; they were the embodiments of the paternal and maternal powers of organic life; they were invoked elsewhere in the Popol Vuh to favor the germination of seeds (p. 20), and the creation of mankind; they are addressed as "ancestress of the sun, ancestress of the light" (p. 18). The old man, Xpiyacoc, is spoken of as the master of divination by the *tzite*, or sacred beans (p. 23); the old woman, Xmucane, as she who could forecast days and seasons (*ahyih*); they were the parents of those mighty ones "whose name was Ahpu," masters of magic (p. 69). From this ancient couple, Ximenez tells us the native magicians and medicine men of his day claimed to draw their inspiration, and they were especially consulted touching the birth of infants, in which they were still called upon to assist in spite of the efforts of the padres. It is clear throughout that they represented mainly the peculiar functions of the two sexes.

Their names perhaps belonged to an archaic dialect and the Kiches either could not or would not explain them. Brasseur does not offer any etymology, and all that Ximenez says is that Xmucane means *tomb* or *grave* (*entierro* o *fosa*), deriving it from the verb *tin muk*, I bury.

In most or all of the languages of this stock the root *muk* or *muc* means to cover or cover up (*encubrir*). In Maya the passive form of the verbal noun is *mucuan*, of which the *Diccionario de Motul** gives the translation "cosa que esta encubierta o enterrada," the second meaning arising naturally from the custom of covering the dead body with earth, and indicated that the mortuary rites among them were by means of interment; as, indeed, we are definitely informed by Bishop Landa.† The feminine prefix and the terminal euphonic *e* give precisely *X-mucuan-e*, meaning "She who is covered up," or buried.

But while etymologically satisfactory, the appropriateness of this deri-

* The *Diccionario de Motul* is the most complete dictionary of the Maya ever made. It dates from about 1590 and has its name from the town of Motul, Yucatan, where it was written. The author is unknown. Only two copies of it are in existence, one, very carefully made, with numerous notes, by Dr. Berendt, is in my possession. It is a thick 4to of 1500 pages.

† *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, § XXXIII.

vation is not at once apparent. Can it have reference to the seed covered by the soil, the child buried in the womb, the egg hidden in the nest, etc., and thus typify one of the principles or phases of reproduction? For there is no doubt, but that it is in the category of divinities presiding over reproduction this deity belongs.

Both names may be interpreted with appropriateness to the sphere and functions of their supposed powers, from radicals common to the Maya and Kiche dialects. Xmucane may be composed of the feminine prefix *x* (the same in sound and meaning as the English pronominal adjective *she* in such terms as *she bear*, *she cat*): and *mukanil*, vigor, force, power, (fortaleza, fuerza, poder, Brasseur, *Vocabulaire Maya, Français et Espagnol*, on the authority of Ruz and Beltran).

Xpiyacoc is not so easy of solution, but I believe it to be a derivative from the root *xib*, the male, whence *xipbil*, masculinity, and especially the *membrum virile* (Pio Perez, *Diccionario Maya*); and *oc* or *ococ*, to enter, to accouple in the act of generation (entrar, juntarse el macho con la hembra, Brasseur, *Vocabulaire Maya*, s. v. *oc*).*

We can readily see with these meanings hidden in them, the subtler sense of which the natives had probably lost, that they would be difficult of satisfactory explanation to the missionaries, and that they would be left by them as proper names of undetermined origin.

The second fragment of Kiche mythology which I shall analyze is one that relates to the gods of the storm. These are introduced as the three manifestations of Qux-cha, the Soul of the Sky, and collectively "their name is Hurakan:"

"Cakulha Hurakan is the first; Chipi-cakulha is the second; "the third is Raxa-cakulha; and these three are the Soul of "the Sky" (p. 8).

Elsewhere we read:

"Speak therefore our name, honor your mother, your "father; call ye upon Hurakan, Chipi-cakulha, Raxa-cakulha, "Soul of the Earth, Soul of the Sky, Creator, Maker, Her who "brings forth, Him who begets; speak, call upon us, salute "us." (p. 14).

Cakulha (Cakchiquel, *cokolahay*) is the ordinary word for the lightning;

*This Vocabulary collected by the Abbé Brasseur (de Bourbourg) was published in the second volume of the reports of the *Mission Scientifique au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale*, Paris. 1870. I regret to say that like all of his linguistic work, it must be followed with great caution. He has inserted in it many words and forms which are not Maya at all, and the derivations he gives and suggests are generally the merest guesses, based on the slenderest analogies of sound. In fact, a careful student of the tongue should not accept any Maya word on the sole authority of Brasseur's work.

Raxa-cakulha, translated by Brasseur "la foudre qui frappe subitement" is rendered by Coto as "the flash of the lightning" (*el resplandor del rayo*); Chipi-cakulha is stated by Brasseur to mean "le sillonnement de l'éclair;" *ghip* is used to designate the latest, youngest or least of children, fingers, etc.

There remains the name Hurakan and it is confessedly difficult. Brasseur says that no explanation of it can be found in the Kiche or Cakchiquel dictionaries and that it must have been brought from the Antilles where it was the name applied to the terrible tornado of the West Indian latitudes, and, borrowed from the Haytians by the early navigators, has under the forms *ouragan*, *huracan*, *hurricane*, passed into European languages. In default of any other probable origin such for a long time was my own opinion, and it is indeed difficult to allow the probability that in Hayti and Guatemala the same word should be applied to the same conception, and this one of such magnitude and impressiveness, and that there should be no historic connection between the two. However that may be, I am now convinced that the word Huracan belongs in its etymology to the Maya group of dialects, and must be analyzed by them.

One such etymology is indeed offered by Ximenez, but an absurd one. He supposed the word was compounded of *hun*, one *ru* his, and *rakan* foot, and translates it "de un pie." This has very properly been rejected.

On collating the proper names in the Popol Vuh there are several of them which are evidently analogical to Hurakan. Thus we have *Cabrakan*, who is represented as the god of the earthquake, he who shakes the solid earth in his might and topples over the lofty mountains. To this day his name is the common word for earthquake in these dialects. Again, one of the titles of Xmucane is *Chirakan Xmucane* (p. 22).

The terminal *rakan* in these names is a word used to express greatness in size, height or bigness. Many examples are found in Coto's *Vocabulario*. He says

"**Larga cosa:** Lo ordinario es poner *rakan* para significar la largura
"de palo, cordel, etc. : para decir, larga caballera trae aquella muger,
"dicen : *nahtik rakan ru vi lue ixok*."

For a person tall in stature he gives the expression *togam rakan* : for large in body (grande del cuerpo) the Cakchiquel is *naht rakan*. But the most appropriate entry in this connection is that in which he gives us the Cakchiquel of *giant* :

"**Gigante:** *hu rapak rakan chi vinak, hu chogak rakan chi vinak* ; este
"nombre se usa de todo animal que en su especie es mas alto que los
"otros. Meo. P^e Saz, serm. de circumscess. dice del Gigante Goliath :
"*tugotic rogoric rakan chiachi Gigante Goliath*."

Here we find the exact combination, *Hu-rakan*, used in the signification of the greatest of a kind, gigantic, colossal. Among the Northern Indians the notion prevailed that each species of animal included one enormous one, much larger than the others, to whom others were subject, and which

was the one who often appeared to the Indian in his "medicine dreams." This was apparently, from the expression of Father Coto, also the opinion of the Guatemalan tribes, and to this mythical giant specimen of the race they applied the term *hu-rapa-rakan*, "the one exceeding great in size." This idea of strength and might is of course very appropriate to the deity who presides over the appalling forces of the tropical thunder storm, who flashes the lightning and hurls the thunderbolt.

It is also germane to the conception of the earthquake god. The first syllable, *cab*, means twice or two or second; and apparently has reference to *hun*, one or first, in *hurakan*. As the thunderstorm was the most terrifying display of power, so next in order came the earthquake. Were it allowable to alter the initial *c* into the guttural *c*, giving us *c* *ab rakan*, then the name would mean "the mighty hand."

The name *Chirakan* as applied to Xmucane may have many meanings; *chi* in all these dialects means primarily *mouth*; but it has a vast number of secondary meanings, as in all languages. Thus, according to Coto, it is currently used to designate the mouth of a jar, the crater of a volcano, the eye of a needle, the door of a house, a window, a gate to a field, in fact, almost any opening whatever. I suspect that as here used as part of the name of the mythical mother of the race and the representation of the female principle, it is to be understood as referring to the vaginal cleft, the *ostium vaginae*, from which, as from an immeasurable *vagina gentium*, all animate life was believed to have drawn its existence.

The same syllable occurs as a prefix in another female name, *Chimalmat*, the mother of Cabrakan (p. 34). This name may, with an effort, be derived from Cakchiquel roots, but as it is absolutely identical with one of a goddess well known in Aztec mythology, I shall consider it later. Suffice it to say here that the verb *malmot*, according to Varea, means to enter suddenly, to appear unexpectedly.

If the derivation of Hurakan here presented is correct, we can hardly refuse to explain the word as it occurs elsewhere with the same meaning as an evidence of the early influence of the Maya race on other tribes. It would appear to have been through the Caribs that it was carried to the West India islands where it was first heard of by the European navigators. Thus the *Dictionnaire Galibi* (Paris, 1743) gives for "diable," *iroucan*, *jeroucan*, *hyorokan*, precisely as Coto gives the Cakchiquel equivalent of "diable" as *hurakan*. This god was said by the Caribs to have torn the islands of the West Indian archipelago from the mainland and to have heaped up the sand hills and bluffs along the shores.* As an associate or "captain" of the hurricane, they spoke of a huge bird who makes the winds, by name *Saracón*, in the middle syllable of which it is possible we may recognize the bird *vaku*, which, as we shall shortly see, the Kiches spoke of as the messenger of Hurakan.

* De la Borde, *Relation de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes*, p. 7. (Paris, 1674).

I shall add here an invocation to Hurakan which is one of the finest in the Popol Vuh :

1. Acarroec, Atoob u gih, at Hurakan, at u Qux cah, uleu !
Hail, beauty of the day, thou Hurakan, thou (its) Heart, the Sky,
the Earth !
2. At yaol rech ganal-raxal, at pu yaol mial, qahol !
Thou giver (of) our prosperity, thou, and giver (of) daughters,
sons !
3. Ch'a tziloh, ch'a maquih uloc a raxal, a ganal :
Make firm, extend hither thy glory, thy greatness :
4. Ch'a yatah u qazsic, vinakiric v'al nu qahol :
Give their life, (their) increase to my descendants :
5. Chi pog-tah, chi vinakir-tah, tzukul ave, cool ave,
That they may beget, may increase nurses for thee, guards for thee,
6. Ziquiy ave pa be, pa hoc, pa beya, pa xivan, xe che, xe caam.
Who shall invoke thee in the roads, in the paths, in the water ways,
in the gorges, under the trees, under the bushes.
7. Ch'a yaa qui mial, qui qahol ;
Give to them daughters, to them sons ;
8. Ma-ta-habi il-tzap, yanquexo ;
Let there not be disgrace, misfortune ;
9. Ma-ta ch'oc qaxtokonel chiquih, chi qui vach.
That not comes the deceiver behind them, before their face.
10. M'e pahic, m'e zokotahic ; m'e hoxonic, m'e gatonic.
May they not fall, may they not stumble ; may they not hurt their
feet, may they not suffer pain ;
11. M'e kahic r'equem be, r'ahzic be.
May they not fall in the low road, in the high road.
12. Ma-ta-habi pak, toxcom chiquih, chi qui vach.
Let there not be a stumbling block, a scourge behind, before their
face.
13. Que a yatah pa raxa be, pa raxa hoc ;
Give them (to be) in a green road, in a green path ;
14. Ma-ta-habi qu'il, qui tzap a cuil, av'itzmal.
Let there not be to them evil, to them misfortune (from) thy locks,
thy hair.
15. Utz-tah qui qoheic tzukul ave, cool ave ch'a chi, ch'a vach.
Fortunate to them (be) existence, nurses thine, guardians thine, be-
fore thy mouth, before thy face,
16. At u Qux cah, at u Qux uleu, at pizom Gagal ! at puch Tohil !
Thou its heart the sky, thou its heart the earth, thou veiled Majesty !
thou and Tohil.
17. At puch Tohil, Avilix, Hacavitz, pam cah, u pam uleu, cah tzak,
cah xucut.
Thou and Tohil, Avilix, Hacavitz, body (of the) sky, its body the
earth (with its) four sides, four corners.

18. *Xa-ta zak, xa-ta amag, u pam ch'a chi ch'a vach, at Qabauil!*

So long as light, so long as time, (be) its body before thy mouth before thy face, thou God!

1. *Acarroe* is an interjection of admiration or awe. *Atoooh* is the plural form with intensive signification of *ato*, beautiful, fine, good.

2. *Ganal-raxal*, literally "yellowness, greenness." I shall refer to this combination in a later paragraph.

At pu, thou and, read "and thou;" the copulative conjunction in Kiche, like the Latin *que*, often follows the first word of the connected clause.

3. *Ch'a tziloh*; both Ximenez and Brasseur translate this "turn thee;" but this requires *tzeloh*, and is less germane to the sense of the passage. The color terms, *rax*, *gan* again appear in their metaphorical senses of prosperity.

4. *Vinakirie*, form the root *vin*, to increase, gain.

9. *Qaxtokonel*, the liar; *qaxtog* is the usual word for *demonio*, *diablo*, in the religious language.

10. *M'e hoxonic*, *m'e gatonic*; Ximenez, and following him Brasseur, translate this, "May they not fornicate, may they not be brought before the judge;" but the meanings in the text are also given to these words in Ximenez' own *Tesoro de las tres Lenguas*, and are much more likely to have been the original ones.

14. *A cuil av'itzmal*; thy locks, thy hair. This probably has reference to a myth or superstition about the storm god's strength, lying, like Samson, in his hair.

16. *Pizom Gagal*; Ximenez translates "envoltorio de gloria."

17. *At puch Tohil*; read: "And thou (also) O Tohil, etc. *Pam*, from *pa*, in, means "the contents of anything hollow," hence entrails, and generally belly. Ximenez translates it here *ventre*, but "body" is probably nearer the right sense, as it stands in antithesis to *heart* in the previous line.

There is another invocation in the Popol Vuh containing some other names of deity, a literal translation of which I shall give, after Brasseur:

"Hail! O Creator, Maker! Who sees and hears us! Do not leave us; do not desert us. O Qabauil, in the sky, on earth, Soul of the Sky, Soul of the Earth. Give us children, posterity [as long as] the sun goes, and the light. Let the seed grow, the light come. Many green paths, green roads, give us; in peace, in white peace, be the tribe; in welfare, in white welfare, be the tribe; give us then happy life and existence, O Hurakan, Chipi-cakulha, Raxa-cakulha, Chipi-nanauac, Raxa-nanauac, Voc, Hunahpu, Tepeu, Gucumat, Alom, Qaholom, Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, Grandmother of the

"Sun, Grandmother of Light; let the seed grow, the light come." p. 210.

Such was the prayer, which according to Kiche traditions, their early ancestors addressed to the divinities, in those far-off years when they dwelt in the distant Orient, in the fertile land of Paxil and Cayala, before they had yet gone to Tulan to receive the tribal and family gods which they adored in later days.

There is no trace of Christian doctrine in these names; clearly they are all handed down from a generation who knew nothing of missionaries and their teachings. Most of them I have already analyzed, and I shall now take up the remainder.

The term *Qabauil* is in Kiche the generic word for divinity. Thus we find in the Popol Vuh such expressions as: *Xavi e qabauil*, truly they were gods (p. 34); *are u bi ri qabauil*, this is the name of God (p. 8). It is from the root *qab*, for the correct signification of which we must perhaps go to the Maya, where it means to create, to make out of nothing. (*Chab*, crear, sacar de la nada, Pio Perez, *Diccionario de la Lengua Maya*.) The word had so many heathenish associations that the Franciscan missionaries dropped it, and substituted the Spanish *Dios*, from which they formed derivatives according to the rules of native grammar. Thus Coto translates *divina cosa* by *diosil* and adds: "antiguamente decian *gabovi al*, de *gabovil*, nombre del dios que adoraban." He gives other derivatives, also:

"**Idolatrar:** *qui gabovilan*; idolo, *gabovil*. * * Lo mesmo dicen de las pinturas que antiguamente hacian; *gabul* vel *gabuil*. *Gabuilhay*, casa de idolatria; *gabuil chahal*, el sacerdote, vel guarda de los idolos."

Father Varea seems to derive *gabuyil* from *g'ibak*, to paint:

"**Gabuyil:** estatua o ydolo propriamente de bulto ò pintada la figura ò ymagen de lo q adoraban los gentiles."

The Dominican missionaries, however, in their writings in the native language adopted *gabuyil* as the correct rendering of *Dios*, God, and this difference of opinion between them and the Franciscans led to some acrimonious linguistic polemics.

Father Hieronimo Roman, from the narratives at his command, states that the name was that of a definite being, the supreme God of the natives of Guatemala.*

The names *Chipi-nanauac*, *Raxa-nanauac*, are supposed by Brasseur to refer to the Aztec divinity Nanahuatl. They are, however, easily explicable by the Kiche itself. They are derived from the root *nao*, to know, understand, absolute form, *qui nao*, which, says Coto, "signifies everything, which is known or learned by custom or experience;" *naoh*, is understanding, reason, intellectual power; *ahnaoh* is the Cakchiquel for *artium magister*. It also applies to understanding the thoughts of another;

* "El Dios que tenian por supremo, como nosotros, llamavanlo en la Provincia de Guatemala Cabouil." *Republicas del Mundo, Tercera Parte, De la Republica de las Indias Occidentales*. Lib. ii, Cap. xv.

Padre nonohel ka zih, the Father understood our story. In a derived application it signified that mysterious and supernal knowledge which the magician and diviner possess, and which, in its highest form, is the peculiar attribute of divinity. In this sense it is synonymous with *puz*, which I have already discussed, and both are given by Coto as the words for magic and necromancy. Both are also employed together in various passages of the *Popol Vuh*. Thus it is said (p. 10) that in the beginning the mountains and the valleys, the cypresses and the pines were created instantaneously by miracle, by magic, *xaki naual*, *xaki puz*; so it is said of the formation of the first men that it was by enchantment, by sorcery—*xa puz*, *xa naual qui tzakic* (p. 198). The expression *nanauae*, therefore has no reference to Aztec myth but to the supernatural power of Divinity, and probably especially to the psychical and intellectual manifestation of the divine energy.

The radical of these comprehensive words is *na*, to feel, to preceive (sentir, advertir, Varea). The reduplication appears in the forms *ta nana*, look, *nanoh*, appointed, designated, and is common in the Maya derivatives from this root, as appears, for instance, in the following entry from the *Diccionario de Motul*:

“**Nanaol**: considerar, contemplar, entender y arbitrar.”

The following are definitions from Varea:—

“**Naoh**: el sentido, el uso, la experiencia, el arte, la industria, el buen ingenio en los hombres, y el instinto natural en los brutos.

“**Naohih**: hacer algo los animales con buen instinto: y tambien hazer el hombre algo con prudencia, arte, buen uso o tiento con entendimiento.

“**Naohiticah**: enseñar ò doctrinar costumbres, artes, letras, cosas buenas ò malas.

“**Nanoxin**: tener muy de memoria algo.

“**Naval**: creyan que avia cosa viva dentro del arbol, piedra ò monte que hablaba, llamaba [hence *naval che*, spirit of the tree, *naval abah* spirit of the stone].

“**Navalih**: hazer milagros de echizeros encantos.

“**Puz Naval**: era una manera de nigromancia ò magica que usaban los yndios tranformandose en globos de fuego y en aguilas y otros animales que yban por el ayre.”

The process of thought seen in these derivatives is interesting to note. From the simple use of the senses (*na*), come experience, knowledge, ability, skill (*naoh*), he who has these to a great degree can do more than others, he can work wonders (*navalih*); he can understand the voices of nature which speak in the babbling brook, the moaning of the wind, the crackling fire, the rattling stones (*naval*); and in his highest attainments may transform himself into any other form of existence (*puz naval*).

Such is the testimony which these rude natives bear through the witness of their language to the source and power of knowledge; and such

was the impression it made upon their untutored minds that even to this day, after more than three hundred years of Christian teaching, it is not the mild Judean Virgin, nor the severe Christian God who is their highest deity, but it is the wise Naoh, the Spirit of Knowledge, the Genius of Reason, who in secret still receives their prayers as the greatest of all the gods. They have also other divinities whose worship has constantly been retained in spite of all the efforts of the missionaries.*

The word *naual* appears also to have been used to express that intellectual communion with the lower animals which the priests often claimed, to the effect that they could understand the songs of birds, etc. Coto remarks that the natives had the superstition that twins are by birth *naual* to rats, "that is, that they have the characteristics of rats, that they will gnaw the clothing of those who irritate them," etc.†

The name *Voc* is that of a species of bird (*Cakchiquel Vaku*). Coto describes it as having green plumage, and a very large and curved bill, apparently a kind of parrot. Elsewhere in the myth (p. 70) it is said to be the messenger of Hurakan, resting neither in the heaven nor in the underworld, but in a moment flying to the sky, to Hurakan who dwells there.

The tribal gods are first mentioned in the last part of the *Popol Vuh*, and they are said to have been given the people in "Tulan Zuiva," a town where they went to receive them (p. 215). The *Tecpan-Atitlan* records state that these gods were first given "in Tullan in Xibalbay," one of the four places of the name of Tulan, which that ancient and interesting legend refers to. The names of these gods were Tohil, Avilix, Hacavitz, and Nicahtagah.

*"Die bedeutendsten Gottheiten der Indianer von Istlávacan, denen sie noch bis zur Stunde zu gewissen Zeiten im Geheimen, im düsteren Urforst opfern und zu deren Ehren sie zuweilen sogar Feste begehen, heissen: Noj, der Genius der Vernunft, Ajmak, der Genius der Gesundheit, Ik, der Mond, Kanil, der Genius der Aussaat und Juup, der Gott der Erde, welcher unter den Indianern das böse Princip vorstellt, im Gegensatze zu Kij, dem Gott des Lichtes, dem guten Princip." Dr. K. Scherzer, *Die Indianer von Santa Catalina Istlávacan*, p. 12. These Indians are said to be the pure-blooded descendants of the ancient Kiches. Of these names Noh, Naoh, is explained above; Ahmak is the name of a day in the calendar, meaning uncertain; Ik, the moon; Kanil, yellow, refers to the color of maize when ripe and hence the harvest; Juup, probably *uliu* the earth; Kij = g'ih, sun, day, light, &c. Dr. Scherzer says that they still look upon mountains, trees, etc., as habitations of particular gods. He also adds that to this day among them every child at his birth is named after and put under the protection of some species of animal; and this animal is called his *nagual* or *naual*. In one curious episode in the *Popol Vuh* where the people sent forth to the bath two beautiful maidens in order to seduce the god Tohil, it is related that what they wished was that these virgins should be deflowered, *qui naual Tohil*, by the mystic power of Tohil (p. 263). The verb *noh* has the signification to fill, and hence to impregnate, fecundate, and is often so used in the *Popol Vuh* (e. g. p. 12). This gives occasion for a combination of genesiac rites and myths with the worship of Reason.

†That particular form of superstition called *Nagualism*, which still prevails among some Central American nations, derives its name from this root. It has been described by the Abbé Brasseur in his *Voyage sur l'Isthme de Tehuantepec*, Paris, 1861, and in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie*, Paris, Ser i, xiii.

Tohil is supposed by Ximenez to be the same as Toh, which is the 9th day of the calendar, and is the sign of rain. Brasseur thinks the orthography should be *Tohohil*, which is from a verb *tohoh*, meaning to sound, resound, make a loud noise, and has relation to the thunder, the legend saying that Tohil produced fire for men by striking his shoe. This derivation he bases on a passage in the *Records from Tecpan Atitlan* where there is apparent reference to this divinity, with a derivation from *tohoh*. It is as follows: After an important battle in the early days of their history, the tribes gathered together on a great mountain, Tepeu Oloman, and there consulted as to measures of safety. The *Records* read:

“Tok xka qutubeh qa ki, ha xa colovi avi, xoh cha chi re
 “When we asked one another whence our comfort, to us then spoke
 “Qeche vinak: Xaqui tohoh quihilil xibe chi cah, xa chi cah xhe
 “the Kiche men: It has sounded loudly above in the sky, from in the sky
 “nu colo vivi Xcha quere qa xubinaah vi
 “our comfort will be. Thus was said (and thus) came the name
 “Tohohil ri.
 “the Loud-Sounding to them.

The derivations of a number of other tribal names are given in the same passage, but it is probable, like many in other ancient records, the derivations were altogether an afterthought, and were attached at a late date to the ancient legend.

It is impossible, however, to obtain *Tohil* from *tohoh* without straining the rules of derivation in their language. On the other hand, it may be very correctly explained as the determinative form of the verb *toh*, a root common to this whole linguistic family. The primitive meaning of this monosyllable seems to have been to give what is due, to pay what is owed. In one sense, we do this in paying debts, in another in punishing an enemy, in yet another in telling the truth where it is properly expected of us. The man who does all this does right, he is just, he causes strife to cease, and pacifies his neighbors; as such, he is a good, sound, healthy man, free from infirmities. That this was the course of thought in the development of this root will be clearly seen by the following extracts from that admirable monument of linguistic industry, the *Diccionario de Motul*:

“**Toh**: v. pagar deudas.

“**Toh**: s. la verdad; lo que es verdad ô verdadero.

“**Toh**: s. venganza.

“**Tohil**: derechura, ô lo derecho y justicia.

“**Tohalol**: estar bueno ô consolado.

“**Tohancilol**: estar bueno de salud; descuidarse, asegurarse.

“**Tohcinahol**: consolar ô quietar y pacificar: y asegurar deuda.

“**Tohol**: sano, sin enfermedad.

Such is the group of ideas which were associated in the native mind with the name and character of *Tohil*. He was the Just one, he distributed equitably to men their rewards and their punishments, he was the Com-

forter, the Avenger, who protected and consoled. He it was, according to the legend, who gave the inestimable blessing of fire to men, obtaining it by striking his shoe (p. 218). As the deity who was looked up to by the Kiche as their benevolent guide, teacher and guardian, the native writer identified him with the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, the mythical founder of the Nahuatl civilization (p. 246) ; but this must not be taken too literally, as the assertion itself only shows the general similarity of character between these two deities, and is far from being sufficient to prove their historical identity.

No derivations whatever have been suggested for Avilix and Hacavitz. The latter, I think, is a compound of *hak*, *haka*, to open, disclose, reveal, and also to listen to ; and *vix*, which means primarily a root, but which in a metaphorical sense meant ancestors ; as Varea says :

“**Vix:** la rayz de todo arbol. * * A sus padres llaman tambien los “Indios, *ru vixil* ; dicenlo tambien de nuestros primeros Padres, Adan “y Eva.”

The sense would be, He who listened to our Ancestors.

The mythical ancestors of the royal Cakchiquel family of the Xahila were ^ca ^cavitz and *Zactecauh*.* If, as seems probable, the former is a compound of ^ca ^cal, royal, *vix*, root stem, stirps, a very natural meaning appears in the name ; ^ca ^cal itself, is, according to the *Calepino* of Varea, a derivative from ^ca ^c fire or flame, through the same easy analogy which leads us to associate brightness with glory and greatness.

I have not found a clear derivation for Avilix ; but it is probably from the verb *glin*, future *xavilah*, to protect, care for.

The compound Nicah-tagah is plain enough—*nigah*, the middle, *tagah*, a plain, a sea-coast, a town. This is given by Brasseur. But one point escaped his notice, which throws another light on the mythological significance of this deity. By a transfer common in most languages, the word for middle was also applied to the organs of generation (las verguenzas de hombre ô muger, Varea, *Calepino*). This divinity holds an inferior place, and indeed is, I believe, not again mentioned in the legend.

I now pass to the curious episode of the descent of the hero-god or gods, Xbalanque, into the underworld, Xibalba, his victory over the inhabitants, and triumphant return to the realm of light. The exploits of this demi-god are the principal theme of the mythological portion of the Popol Vuh.

It was the vague similarity of this myth to the narrative of the descent of Christ into Hell, and His ascent into Heaven, to which we owe the earliest reference to these religious beliefs of the Guatemalan tribes ; and it is a gratifying proof of their genuine antiquity that we have this reference. Our authority is the excellent Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolome de

* *Records from Teopan-Atilan*, written by Don Franelseo Ernantez Arana Xahila, 1573. MSS. in Cakchiquel in my possession.

las Casas, and after him Alonzo Fernandez, and later writers. Their account reads :

“Dicen fué este Dios [Exbalanquen] à hazer guerra al infierno, y peleó
 “con grande numero de demonios. Venció los, y prendió al Rey del
 “infierno, y à otros muchos de los suyos, y bolvió al mundo vitorioso.
 “Llegando cerca de la tierra, el Rey del infierno pidió que no le sacasse
 “de su lugar. Exbalaquen (que así se llaman este gran Dios) le dio un
 “empellon, y le bolvió á su proprio Reyno, diciendole ; Sea tuyo todo
 “lo malo, sucio y feo. Viniendo vencedor, no le quisieron recibir los de
 “Guatemala y Chiapa con la honra que era razon ; y por lo cual se fue
 “à otra Provincia, adonde fué con grandes ceremonias recibido. Re-
 “fieron que deste vencedor del diablo tuvo principio el sacrificar
 “hombres.”*

Las Casas adds that Xbalanque was born in Utlatlan, which we may construe as merely a claim made by the Kiches to the birthplace of the hero god, which doubtless would have been contested by their neighbors, for there is evidence that we have here to do with a myth which was a common property of the Maya stock. As related in the Popol Vuh where it is told in a confused manner, and at wearisome length, it is briefly as follows :

The divine pair Xpiyacoc and Xmucane had as sons Hunhun-Ahpu and Vukub-Hun-Ahpu (Each-one-a-Magician and Seven-times-a-Magician). They were invited to visit Xibalba, the Underworld, by its lords, Hun-Came and Vukub-Came (One-Death and Seven-Deaths), and accepting the invitation, were treacherously murdered. The head of Hunhun-Ahpu was cut off and suspended on a tree. A maiden, by name Xquiq, Blood, passed that way, and looking at the tree, longed for its fruit ; then the head of Hunhun-Ahpu cast forth spittle into the outstretched palm of the maiden, and forthwith she became pregnant. Angered at her condition, her father set about to slay her, but she escaped to the upper world and there brought forth the twins Hun-Ahpu and Xbalanque. They grew in strength, and performed various deeds of prowess, which are related at length in the Popol Vuh, and were at last invited by the lords of the Underworld to visit them. It was the intention of the rulers of this dark land that the youths should meet the same fate as their father and uncle. But prepared by warnings, and skilled in magic power, Xbalanque and his brother foiled the murderous designs of the lords of Xibalba ; pretending to be burned, and their ashes cast into the river, they rose from its waves unharmed, and by a stratagem slew Hun-Came and Vucub-Came. Then the inhabitants of the Underworld were terrified and fled, and Hun-Ahpu and Xbalanque released the prisoners and restored to life those who had been slain. The latter rose to the sky to become its countless stars, while

* Las Casas, *Historia Apologetica de las Indias Occidentales*, cap cxxiv (Madrid edition) ; P. F. Alonzo Fernandez, *Historia Ecclesiastica de Nuestrs Tiempos*, p. 137. (Toledo, 1611).

Hun-hun-Ahpu and Vucub-Hun-Ahpu ascended to dwell the one in the sun, the other in the moon.

The portion of the legend which narrates the return of Xbalanque to the upper world, and what befell him there, as referred to in the myth preserved by Las Casas, is not preserved in the Popol Vuh.

The faint resemblance which the early missionaries noticed in this religious tradition to that of Christ would not lead any one who has at all closely studied mythology to assume that this is an echo of Christian teachings. Both in America and the Orient the myths of the hero god, born of a virgin, and that of the descent into Hades, are among the most common. Their explanation rests on the universality and prominence of the processes of nature which are typified under these narratives. It is unscientific to attempt to derive one from the other, and it is not less so to endeavor to invest them with the character of history, as has been done in this instance by the Abbé Brasseur (de Bourbourg), and various other writers.

The Abbé maintained that Xibalba was the name of an ancient State in the valley of the Usumasinta in Tabasco, the capital of which was Palenque.* He inclined to the belief that the original form was *tzibalba*, which would mean *painted mole*, in the Tzendal dialect, and might have reference to a custom of painting the face. This far-fetched derivation is wholly unnecessary. The word Xibalba, Cakchiquel Xibalbay, Maya Xibalba, Xabalba or Xubalba (all found in the *Diccionario de Motul*, MSS.), was the common term throughout the Maya stock of languages to denote the abode of the spirits of the dead, or Hades, which with them was held to be under the surface of the earth, and not, as the Mexicans often supposed, in the far north. Hence the Cakchiquels used as synonymous with it the expression “the centre or heart of the earth.”

{ *ch'u qur uleu*
{ in its heart the earth. (Coto *Dicc.* s. v.).

Coto adds that the ancient meaning of the word was a ghost or vision of a departed spirit—“antiguamente este nombre *Xibalbay* significaba el demonio, vel los difuntos ó visiones que se les aperescian, y así decian, y “aun algunos ay que lo dicen oy, *xuqutzii xibalbay ri^c etzam chi nu vach*, “se me apereció el difunto.”

After the conquest the word was and is in common use in Guatemala dialects to mean *hell*, and in Maya for *the devil*. Cogolludo states that it was the original Maya term for the Evil Spirit, and that it means “He who disappears, or vanishes.”† He evidently derived it from the Maya verb *xibil*, and I believe this derivation is correct; but the signification he

* *Dissertation sur les Mythes de l'Antiquité Americaine*, § viii (Paris, 1861); see also his note to the *Popol Vuh*, p. 70.

† “El Demonio se llamaba *Xibitha*, que quiere decir el que se desaparece ó desbance.” *Historia de Yucathan*, Lib. iv, cap. vii. Cogolludo had lived in Yucatan twenty-one years when he was making the final revision of his History, and was moderately well acquainted with the Maya tongue.

givee is not complete. I quote from the *Diccionario de Motul*, MSS. the entry relating to this word :

“**Xibil**, *xibi*, *xibic* : cundir como gota de aceita ; esparcirse la comida en “la digestion, y deshacerse la sal, nieve ô yelo, humo ô niebla.

“*item* : desaparecerse una vision ô fantasma.

“*item* : temblar de miedo y espantarse.

“*item* : quitarse el dolor y la calentura.”

In the Cakchiquel we have the same word *xibil*, to frighten, to terrify, from which are derived the instrumental form *xibibeh*, the verbal noun *xibibal*, that which causes terror (*e. g.*, *xibibal gel*, lit. “that which frightens birds,” *i. e.* the scarecrow set up in the cornfields, Varea), etc. This is the secondary meaning of the root, and is the only one which seems to have survived in the Guatemala dialects. The original signification of the word was undoubtedly “to melt, dissolve,” thus disappear, and in this sense it was applied to the act of death, the disappearance of man from this mortal life.

It is most interesting in this instance to note how the mental processes of these secluded and semi-barbarous tribes led them to precisely the same association of ideas which our greatest dramatist expresses in the opening lines of Hamlet’s famous soliloquy :

“O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew ;”

And which Cicero records in the expression *dissolutio naturæ* in the sense of death (*De Legibus* I. ii. *et al.*).

The natural terror and fright with which death and ghosts are everywhere regarded, and especially, as Landa remarks, by this people,* explains how this secondary meaning became predominant in the word. The termination *ba* means in the Guatemala dialects, where, whence, whither, *bey*, a path or road ; *Xibilbay* thus signifies, in its locative sense, the place where they (*i. e.* the dead) disappear, the Hades, the Invisible Realm, which, as I have above appointed out, was supposed to be under the ground.

It was a common belief among many tribes in America, as I have elsewhere shown,† that their earliest ancestors emerged from a world which underlies this one on which we live, and in ancient Cakchiquel legend, the same or a similar notion seems to have prevailed. At least, such I take to be the sense of a passage in the earlier pages of the *Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan*, which I shall transcribe from the copy in my possession, with the translation of the Abbé Brasseur, which, however, by his own statement, cannot be depended upon as accurate.

“Tan qa talax ri Chay Abah, rumah raxa Xibalbay, gana Xibalbay tan
“qa ti qak vinak ruma qakol bitol ; tzukul richin ri Chay Abah ok xqak
“ri vinak pan pokon qa xutzin vinak.

* *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, §xxxiii.

† *The Myths of the New World*, p. 241 (second edition).

"Le Chay Abah est sorti de Xibalbay, du riche et puissant Xibalbay.

"L'homme est l'œuvre de son createur et formateur, et celui qui sou-
"tiens le Createur c'est ce Chay Abah. Or il forma l'homme et le per-
"fectionna dans le douleur."

The name of the hero-god Xbalanque is explained by the Abbé Brasseur to be compounded of the diminutive prefix *x*, *balam* a tiger and the plural termination *que*.^{*} Like so many of the derivations offered with great confidence by the worthy Abbé, this one is quite incorrect. There is no plural termination *que*, neither in the Kiche nor in any related dialect; and the signification "tiger" (jaguar, *Felix unca* Lin. in Mexican *ocelotl*), which he assigns to the word *balam* is only one of several which belongs to it.

The name is compounded of the prefix, either feminine or diminutive *x*; *balam*, or, as given by Guzman, *balan*;† and *queh*, deer. This is the composition given by Ximenez, who translates it literally as "diminutivo de tigre y venado."‡

From analogies easy to perceive, the name *balam*, was also applied to a class of warriors; to a congregation of priests or diviners; and to one of the inferior orders of deities. In composition it was applied to a spotted butterfly, as it is in our tongue to the "tiger-lily;" to the king-bee, to certain rapacious birds of prey, etc.

I quote the following entries in the manuscripts before me :

"**Balam** : tigre.

"**Balam malax** : mariposa grande.

GUZMAN, *Compendio de Nombres*.

"**Balamil cab** : el rey de abejas.

"**Balamil cah** : los sacerdotes del pueblo, cacique y regidores, que
"con su fortaleza lo guardan.

"**Balamil chich** : aves de rapina.

"Diccionario de Motul.

"**Balam** : el tigre, *Zukbalam*, tigre pequeño de su natureleza; ^c*ana balam*,
"el grande.

"**Balam** : tambien sig^a un signo de los Indios. *Maceval* ^c*ih P^o balam*,
"ô *Maria xbalam*. *Balam* se llama el echizero.

Varea, Calepino.

In the last entry quoted, we find that *balam* was the name of one of the days of the Kiche-Cakchiquel calendar. It was in fact the twelfth of their week of twenty days, and in the Mexican calendar *ocelotl* stood for the fourteenth of the twenty days. *Queh*, the deer, was also the name of a sign or day, the seventh in the Kiche-Cakchiquel calendar; but was also used to ex-

^{*}"Les Petits Tigres," *Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine*, 2 viii; *Popol Vuh*, p. 34, note.

† *Compendio de Nombres en Lengua Cakchiquel*, MSS.

‡ *Las Historias del Origen de los Indios*, p. 16.

press two, thirteen, five or six days, as is stated by Varea in the following entry in his *Calepino*.

“*Queh* : el venado. Ha se estendido la significacion à mulas, caballas
“y machas. Sig^a un cierto dia ; otras veces dos dias ; otras veces es signo
“de trece, otras veces cinco ò seis dias à la quenta de los Indios : *xu hun*
“*queh* *væ* *c̃ih*, ò, *cay queh*, *voo queh*, *vahaki*, ò, *oxlahuh queh*.

It is not easy to explain the principles which governed the calculation of time among the Kiche-Cakchiquel tribes, only vague and contradictory accounts concerning it having reached us, the analysis of which I trust to undertake in another article. Suffice it to say here that the hero-god whose name is thus compounded of two signs in the calendar, who is born of a virgin, who performs many surprising feats of prowess on the earth, who descends into the world of darkness, and sets free the sun, moon and stars to perform their daily and nightly journeys through the heavens, presents in these and other traits such numerous resemblances to the Divinity of Light, reappearing in so many American myths, the Day-Maker of the northern hunting tribes, that I do not hesitate to identify the narrative of Xbalanque and his deeds as one of the presentations of this widespread, this well-nigh universal myth, guarding my words by the distinct statement, however, that the identity may be solely a psychological, not a historical one.

It will not be without interest to trace the *balam* myth in its later development. We see in the quotation from the *Diccionario de Motul*, that the title was applied to the priests, chief and rulers on whom the defence of the city rested. There were also, in Yucatan, four certain divinities closely connected with the Calendar, called the *Bacabab*. The myths of these correspond in a general way with that of Xbalanque, sufficiently so to recognize that they played a corresponding part, and the *balam* and the *bacab* have been identified in modern Maya superstition. The four *bacabab* were four giants (*chaac*) who sustained the heavens, presided over the years, were the gods of rain and agriculture, who sent the winds on their swift journeys, and hurled the lightning flash from the heavens. The memory of these mighty beings is still preserved by the native Mayas of Yucatan, and even with all their devotion to the Romish Church, they do not neglect the pious rites to these ancient and beneficent national divinities ; and what is to my purpose here, is the fact that they still pay them homage under this very name of the *Balams*. In Maya the plural termination is *ob*, and with the masculine prefix *h*, their name becomes *Hbalam ob*.

I have in my possession a Spanish manuscript written in Yucatan about twenty years ago, in which are collected various superstitions still prevalent among the natives. The accounts are from different sources, and as the matter is both new to students of such matters and of importance in tracing the development of the religious notions of the natives, I shall give a translation of those paragraphs which describe the still prevalent belief in the *Hbalamob*. The authorities given for the account are the

eminent antiquary, Don Crescencio Carrillo, Don Jose Maria Lopez, and the Licenciate Zetina of Tabasco.

"The *Hbalamob* are certain very ancient men who take charge of and guard the towns. One of them is constantly on the watch on the north side of the town, another on the south, a third on the east, and a fourth on the west. During the day they are invisible, although they are occasionally seen; but those who have this privilege are very sure to meet soon afterwards with some serious misfortune, as to be stricken dumb for a while, or to be attacked with a dangerous malady.

"As soon as night arrives the *Hbalam* becomes more alert and vigilant, without which the town would soon suffer great misfortune. A violent rain, a hurricane or a plague would promptly visit it. Although rarely seen even at night, one may often hear the shrill whistle with which they call to each other for assistance in repelling the malignant influences which would assail the town. These the native represents to himself as personified in individuals, as did the ancient Romans and Greeks.

"The whistle which is their signal to each other is so loud and shrill that it can be heard from one end of the town to the other, no matter how far that may be. United, they oppose with all their might the malignant powers which would attack the town. Such is their gigantic strength that the day after a conflict of this kind one will find the arena of the contest strewn with large trees broken down, torn up by the roots and split into fragments, and the earth is beaten and upheaved in a manner that could not proceed from any human agency; even large stones have been broken into pieces in such battles.

"Although the *Hbalam* has no wings, he has the power of flying through the air.

"Not only the natives but the whites of the interior have implicit faith in these mysterious beings. There is not an Indian who has a corn-field who omits to propitiate on the proper day the *Hbalamob* by a suitable offering. This is a very ceremonious act which is presided over by the *hkin* (native priest), and were it neglected, the corn would wither for want of rain or for some cause be ruined.

"When an Indian is reproached with the error of believing in the existence of these *Hbalamob*, which he has never seen, he contents himself with the reply; '*Ah! bix-mahab hah!*' 'Ah! How can it be otherwise than true!'

"They are, however, seen on various occasions. Thus they say that an Indian and his wife once went to their cornfield to gather ears. While at work the Indian left the field to get some water, and his wife threw off the gown she wore lest it should be torn, and was naked. Suddenly she heard some one call to her in a loud voice: '*Pice auito xnoh cizin*': (*Tapa ta culo, gran diablo*); at the same time she received two smart blows with a cane. She turned and saw a tall man with a long beard and a gown which reached to the earth at his feet.

"This was the Hbalam. He gave her two more blows and disappeared, and she bore the marks of the four cuts the rest of her life.

"At another time, in the province of Tihosuco, an Indian had forgotten to offer the Hbalam a gift when the corn was planted. As the ears were about ripening he visited his field to look at them. He found in it a tall man who was engaged in picking the ears one by one, and placing them in a *xuxac*, or large basket, which, according to the custom of the country, he carried fastened to his shoulders. The Indian saluted him with some mistrust. The other, who was, in fact, the Hbalam, answered the salute curtly and added: 'I am here gathering in that which I sent.' Shortly afterwards he took from his pouch an immense cigar, 'such as the Hbalamob are accustomed to smoke' parenthetically added the narrator, and picking up his flint and steel began to strike sparks. But the sparks he struck were flashes of lightning, and the sound of his blows was terrible thunderclaps which shook the very earth, and the Indian fell to the ground unconscious with terror. When he came to himself, a hail storm had destroyed his corn. On his return he fell sick with a fever which nearly cost him his life.

"It is a general belief among the Indians that the shooting stars are nothing else than the stumps of their huge cigars thrown away by the Hbalamob."

Returning to the myth of Xbalanque, it is evident that in the Popol Vuh one important part of it is omitted, that is, the portion describing his actions after returning from the underworld, and we can but meagrely supply this omission from other sources. According to the earliest authorities, his egress was made at Coban in Vera Paz, and after he had come forth he stopped up the aperture or cavern, so that no other one could descend.*

The divinities Hun Batz and Hun-choven are represented in the Popol Vuh as skilled in painting, singing, playing the flute, in working gold and jewels, and in cutting stones. Several meanings can be given to each of these names. Hun-Batz is translated by Ximenez *a thread*; its proper form is Baq, in Cakchiquel, from the verb to spin, weave, and I presume refers to Hun-Batz as presiding over the textile arts. Hun-choven is stated by Ximenez to mean *one who is neat* (uno que esta en orden); by Brasseur, *un qui s'embellit*. The verbal form *chore* is rendered by Varea "blanquearse," to whiten, bleach or polish up. This, too, seems to bear a distinct reference to the arts. Their mother is Xbakiyalo, from *x*, female prefix, *bak*, bone or bones, and *yaloh*, to keep together. Ximenez translates it literally *tied bones* (huesos atados), but it should be "She who preserves the bones," and probably has reference to the general care with which the bones of the dead were preserved with religious respect by various members of the Red Race.

*Hieronimo Roman, *De la Repub'lica de las Indias Occidentales*, Lib. ii, cap. xv. (Salamanca, 1535).

The father of these divinities was Hun-hun-ahpu, himself the son of the original pair, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

The Abbé Brasseur has taken pains to make this myth of the two brothers appear to be of Nahuatl origin. On the contrary, there is strong evidence that it is essentially a Maya myth, and originally bore a close relation to others prevailing in Yucatan. This evidence is found in the pages of Father Hieronimo Roman, and I regard the version he gives of so much interest that I will translate it from the third part of his extremely scarce work *Las Republicas del Mundo*, published at Salamanca in 1595.

“Their tradition says that there were a husband and wife who were “divine. The man was called Xchel, and the woman Xtcamna. They “considered these two father and mother, having three sons. The oldest “together with some others grew arrogant, and desired to make creatures “for themselves against the wish of the father and mother; but they “could not, because the work which came from their hands turned out to “be only old earthenware fit for common purposes as for pots and pans, “and other utensils of yet meaner uses. The younger sons who were “called Huncheuen and Hunahan asked permission of their father and “mother to make creatures, and they received it, their parents saying “they might have it because they had demeaned themselves humbly. “They at first made the heavens and the plants, fire, air, water and “earth. Then they made man from the earth. The others who pre- “sumptuously tried to make creatures against the will of the parents “were cast into the infernal regions. All the natives who are engaged “in the arts, such as painters, weavers of feathers, sculptors, workers in “silver and gold, and the like, honor highly these two younger brothers, “and ask their favor and aid in order to obtain skill in their arts and “trades, but they do not believe them to be the highest divinity.”*

In this narrative Roman gives the name of Hun ahau (*ahan* is an obvious misprint), instead of Hunbatz; and assigns to them as parents the distinctively Maya divinities Itzamna, the mythical civilizer and discoverer of picture writing, and Xchel, the goddess of medicine, childbirth, etc., although he confuses the sex of the parents. It is an interesting proof of the antiquity of the legend, and of its extension into the pure Maya speaking communities, with whom probably it was a relic of very ancient myths common to the Maya-Kiche stock.

I have reserved for a special subject of discussion the relationship of some of the names of divinities in the Popol Vuh to those of the Aztec mythology. It is the received and favorite theory with many that the civilization of Guatemala was at first a legacy from some Nahuatl speaking race, either Toletes or Aztecs. The substantial identity of the mythologies of the two peoples has also been assumed. How far the identity extended, I shall now examine.

* *De la Republica de las Indias Occidentales*. Lib. ii, cap xv. This extract is also given by Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*, Lib. v, cap vi, but he has completely distorted the proper names.

Certainly the native writer of the Popol Vuh claims a common origin with the Nahuatl race. Like them he traces his descent from the mythical seven caves, seven ravines or seven sons which are familiar in Aztec myth. He quotes an ancient song which began with the words *Kamucu*, we see, which ran like this :

"Alas, in Tulan were we ruined, there we separated, there they remained behind, our brothers, our kinsmen. We indeed have seen the sun, but they, where are they now, now that the day is breaking ?

"Thus did our ancestors chant to the priests, the Yaqui men.

"Verily, the god named Tohil is the god of the Yaqui men, Yolcuat Quetzalcoat by name, when we separated in Tulan, in Zuiva. Thence indeed came we forth together ; there was the common parent of our race whence we came. So said they one to another.

"Then they called to remembrance their brothers, there, far off, behind them, the Yaqui men, where the day came, in Mexico, as it is now called."

The "Yaqui men," *yaqui vinak*, was and still is the common term in Kiche and Cakchiquel for the Aztecs ; *yaqui* itself being an adjective in those dialects signifying polished, cultivated, civilized.* There was undoubtedly frequent commercial intercourse between the Aztec and neighboring races, and among the descendants of the original seven brothers were claimed to be such totally diverse races as the Otomis and Tarascos, so that it is not surprising that the early Kiches in a measure accepted an origin from the same prolific source. Tohil and Quetzalcoatl resemble each other in vague outlines, and hence the scribe identified them just as Tacitus identified the Teutonic Thor with the Latin Vulcan. There is no real similarity between the two.

The name Chimalmat also appears in the Quetzalcoatl myth in the form Chimalmatl. According to one account, she was the second wife of the father of men, Iztac-mixcohuatl and the mother of Quetzalcoatl ; or she was a virgin, and finding a *chalchihuitl*, a sacred green stone, swallowed it, and becoming pregnant bore Quetzalcoatl ; or again she was the wife of Camaxtli, god of hunting and fishing, and had by him five sons, one of whom was Quetzalcoatl.† The name in Nahuatl is from *chamalli*, a shield, and probably *matlalin*, dark green. We find her in the Popol Vuh as the wife of Vukub Cakix, Seven Aras, the ara being the bird of brilliant tropical plumage called in Aztec the Quetzal. Although her name can be explained as a Kiche word, it is most probably a loan from Mexican mythology.

The name *tepeu* which I have derived from a Maya root is found also in

* The Yaqui tribe in Sonora has no connection with this tradition, the identity of names being accidental, and the meaning of the words different. *Yaqui* is also an Aztec word meaning "departed or gone away to some other region," emigrants (ido ó partido para alguna parte. Molina, *Vocabulario Mexicano*, s. v.).

† These various myths are given in Toribio de Motilinia, *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España, Epistola Proœmial*, p. 10, and Geronimo de Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, Lib. ii, cap xxxiii.

Nahuatl with almost the same significations, as will be apparent from the following quotations from Molina's *Vocabulario Mexicano* (Mexico, 1578).

"**Tepanauī**, el que excede a los otros y les lleva ventaja en algo, ô "el que es vencedor.

"**Tepan nicac**, presidir ô governar (*nicac* is an adverbial ending "signifying presence in time and space, here is, there is).

"**Tepeuani**, conquistador ô vencedor de batalla."

The same may be said of the Kiche and Maya word *ahau*, chief, lord, often applied to divinities; this, too, reappears in Nahuatl in the sense of enjoyment, ease, taking one's pleasure, as a great ruler is supposed to do. The following are also from Molina.

"*Ahauia*, regozijarse, y tomar placer.

"*Ahauiltia*, espaciarse, recrearse ô pasear tiempo.

"*Ahauirca*, alegremente."

But the careful student in comparing these words and their derivatives in Aztec and Maya will find that while in the latter tongue their whole history can be traced from the primary, literal, concrete meaning through the secondary, transferred and metaphorical senses, this is not the case in Aztec, but that in it they appear only with a late secondary signification. This is conclusive evidence that the borrowing was not from Aztec to Maya, but from Maya or its dialects to Aztec, and this at a comparatively late date in linguistic history.

I shall illustrate this by another example. I have previously traced the development of the name Nanauac from a Maya root, branching off, and extending through an interesting series of related conceptions. Words from this same root are also found in Aztec, but all derived from a late form, and in a bad sense. Molina gives:

"*Naualli*, bruja.

"*Nauallatia*, esconderse para asechar ô hacer mal à otro.

"*Naualloti*, negromancia ô cosa semejante."

No other significations are given by Molina to words from this root except such as relate to sorcery and witchcraft. Evidently the Aztecs had borrowed it after it had reached this meaning in its development, and it would be in vain to attempt to show its history from Nahuatl sources, whereas this is easy from the Maya dialects. These examples therefore point strongly to the conclusion that the resemblances or occasional identities between Kiche and Aztec myths are superficial ones only, brought about by a limited but long continued intercourse between the two peoples, and that the main and fundamental conceptions of Kiche mythology do not point to any Aztec or Toltec source, but strongly and decidedly to the pure Maya myths and tongue.

As a probable Aztec infiltration; I may mention the myth of the terrestrial paradise called in the Popol Vuh *Paxil*. This word has given trouble to the commentators, and no satisfactory sense has been made out of it viewed as a Kiche expression. I am inclined to believe it a reminiscence

of the Aztec Tlaloc and his happy abode. He was the god of rain, "distributor of the waters" (repartidor de las aguas), and the joyous spot where he passed his time was called *Puhaà*, properly *Puhatlan*, from *pahatl*, rose water, sweet unguent, or other such substance to strengthen and refresh the body.* The waters, the timely rains, refresh and rejuvenate nature, and whence they come, their source and home, was in the imagination of the Aztecs preëminently the land of life, joy and abundance, the terrestrial paradise.

While I am anxious to give full weight to these affinities between the Maya-Kiche and the Aztec mythology, I must formally protest against the strained efforts at identifying the divinities and myths of the one race with that of the other, as has been done in many parts by Brasseur and in an even more pronounced manner by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.† I wish to state clearly my adherence to the opinion that the theogonies of the Maya and Nahuatl stocks were distinct in origin, different in character, and only similar by reason of that general similarity which of necessity arose from the two nations being subject to like surroundings, and in nearly the same stage of progress. The two nations had for generations frequent commercial intercourse; certain features of the religion of the one may have been borrowed from the other, as were certain words of the language; but to explain the attributes of a Maya-Kiche divinity by those of an assumed Mexican analogue is a hazardous and uncritical proceeding; and to take it for granted that historically the one mythology is a descendant of the other is a gratuitous assumption wholly without support by the facts so far as we know them, and at present contrary to probability.

It will be noticed in some of the above names how prominent the perception of color shows itself. This is very strongly marked in these dialects. There is, however, no evidence that they distinguished colors to a refined extent. On the contrary, Coto distinctly confines the names of colors to five: "Los nombres de colores no tienen mas de cinco" (s. v. *Color*).

As I have above said, travelers maintain that the natives do not distinguish green from blue; in Kiche, *rax*, in Maya *yaax*, stands for both these shades. The names of these five main colors are constantly recurring as signs and metaphors. They are:

	Kiche.	Cakchiquel.	Maya.
White,	zak,	zak,	zac.
Black,	gek,	g'ek,	ek.
Red,	cak,	cak,	chac.
Green,	rax,	rax,	yaax.
Yellow,	gan,	g'an,	kan.

* "El lugar de Tlaloc, que era la tierra de *Phajaá*, descanso y bien aventuranza." Joseph Joaquín Granados y Galvez, *Tardes Americanas*, p. 87. (Mexico, 1778.) This author, though well acquainted with Otomi, was not proficient in Aztec. There is no *ph* nor *f* sound in Aztec. The word *pahatl* is given by Molina with the significations stated in the text.

† *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. iii, chap. xi.

The poverty of this list was eked out by certain terminations which modified the force of the root, as in Maya *pozen*, which indicated that the tint was light or shaded toward white (Pio Perez) ; and so Coto gives for the blue color of the sky *rax gorogoh* or *rax hanahoh* (s. v. *Azul*), and for brown *rax magamoh*, etc. Hence I judge that the deficiency of the color sense above referred to was apparent rather than real.

The *Popol Vuh* informs us that there is a spot where four roads meet, each of a different color, the one red, the second black, the third white, and the last yellow or green (pp. 82, 143). This is a reminiscence of the use of the colors as symbols of the cardinal points of the horizon. The same four colors were, according to Landa, used by the Mayas on their "Katun wheel," by which they counted their calendar, and each was sacred to one of the four dominical letters of their calendar.

The custom of identifying a color with one of the cardinal points was common in Yucatan and Mexico, as well as elsewhere in the New and Old World. It has been studied in both by M. de Charencey, who believes that in Mexico and Central America the original systems were as follows :*

Quaternary System.		Quinary System.	
East,	Yellow.	South,	Blue.
North,	Black.	East,	Red.
West,	White.	North,	Yellow,
South,	Red.	West,	White.
		Center.	Black.

This symbolism in the form of its existence in Guatemala has not yet been made out. I observe that in Cakchiquel the term for red, *cak*, also meant North (*cak ig*, north wind, Coto. s. v. *Ayre*).

The word *rax*, green or blue, as I have above mentioned, was used also in the sense of strong, violent, great, magnificent. It, in fact, almost lost its meaning as connoting a particular hue, and was applied, for instance, to any precious stone of no matter what color. Thus, says Coto, "á todas las piedras de estima y relucientes llama el indio *raxaxon*, de qualquier "color que sean ; piedra de anillo, *raxaxon ru vach nar^c_ca*, que es el "anillo."

Both green and yellow were esteemed fortunate colors by the Cakchiquels, the former as that of the flourishing plant, the latter as that of the ripe and golden ears of maize. Hence, says Coto, they were also used to mean prosperity : "para significar prosperidad usan deste nombre *ganal*, "y *raxal* que es verde ; v. g. *goh ganal*, *raxal*, *ru chahim Pedro*." The god *Kanil*, is still honored by the Kiches, as the protector of the harvest†.

Nevertheless, yellow was the color used in mourning, and the bereaved one painted himself with a yellow earth, as we learn from Ximenez : "El luto que usaban era untarse de tierra amarilla, de adonde tome el

* *Des Couleurs considérées comme Symboles des Points de l'Horizon chez les Peuples du Nouveau Monde*. Actes de la Société Philologiques, Tom. vi.

† Scherzer, *ubi supra*, p. 12.

“nombre *mal-cane* el viudo, que quiere decir el untado de amarillo” (*Escolios*, p. 214).

The color white, *zak*, had, however, by far the widest metaphorical uses. As the hue of light, it was associated, with day, dawn, brightness, etc.; to dawn, *ti zaker*; the daybreak, *maha ti zaker*; a clear sky, *raz cah*; light, *zak*; clearness, translucency, *zak il*. As applied to abstract ideas its employment was very frequent as “clearly, manifestly,” *chi zakil*. In the Popol Vuh are such expressions as *zakil qolem*, *zakil tzih*, literally “the whiteness life, the whiteness words,” which mean “the glory of life, the glory of speech.” The mythical mother and father of the race are called *zakil al*, *zakil qahol*, she who gives birth to whiteness, he who begets whiteness, where the whiteness is to be understood as mental clearness, knowledge, enlightenment. Varea gives *zak iricah*, to make clear, to explain, *zak*, a clearing in the woods, and other derivatives.

In closing this exegetical study, I would point out one fact developed by it, to which I attach considerable weight, and that is that the names analyzed indicate unmistakably a source immeasurably remote from Christian thought, and thus prove the aboriginal origin of this important myth. Can any one maintain that it was an echo of missionary teaching, when the names it applies to the highest god are such as “the Great Hog,” “the Fox, mighty in Magic,” “the Syphilitic One,” and the like? Such appellations, at first sight so degrading to the notion of God, can only be understood by taking into account modes of thought, and associations of ideas wholly divergent from those to which these tribes were introduced by the ministers of the Christian religion.

Stated Meeting, December 2d, 1881.

Present, 6 members.

President, Mr. FRALEY, in the Chair.

Letters accepting membership were received from John Evans, dated Nov. 5, 1881, Nash Mills, Hamel-Hempstead; Henry H. Gorringe, Nov. 30, Portland, Oregon; William Gladstone, Prime Minister of England, Nov. 15, 10 Downing St., Whitehall (through G. L. Gower); and B. Stallo, Nov. 18, Cincinnati.

A letter of acknowledgment was received from the Royal Institution, London. (Proc. 107, 108; Trans. XV, 3.)

A letter of envoy was received from the North China